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THE CELTIC CHURCH IN SCOTLAND.*

[BY PROVOST MACANDREW.]

WHAT I have undertaken to do to-night is to give some account of the Christian Church as it existed in Scotland in the earliest Christian times, and before it fell under the influence and authority of the Bishop of Rome. The Christianity of Scotland came from Ireland, and at the outset of our enquiry it is necessary to consider when and by whom the Irish were converted. The Roman world became officially Christian about 321, and at that time Britain, up at least to the Southern wall, was a Roman province, and presumably it became Christian as the rest of the Empire did. We know that a Christian Church existed among the provincial Britons at the time the Romans took their departure, and continued to exist among those Britons who were not subdued by the Saxons. But whether the Christianity of the Roman Province extended itself among the unsubdued Caledonians to the North, or among the inhabitants of Ireland, is a matter as to which we have no certain light. About 397, thirteen years before the final abandonment of the province by the Romans, St. Ninian, a bishop of the Britons, built a Church at Whithern, in Galloway, and is said by Bede to have converted the Southern Picts; and the Southern Picts are said by Bede to have been those living

* Read at the opening meeting of the Gaelic Society of Inverness.

between the Friths of Forth and Clyde and the Grampian range. Whether Bede is right in this is a matter about which I shall have something to say farther on; but if the Picts to the south of the Grampians were converted by Ninian, they appear soon to have lapsed into paganism. Again there are evidences of a tradition in Ireland that Ninian went to that country and preached Christianity, and he is commemorated there under the name of Monen—the term of endearment “mo” being very frequently prefixed to the names of saints—while, at a later period, the monastery at Whithern, supposed to have been founded by Ninian, was undoubtedly resorted to by Irish ecclesiastics for instruction. Bede states that about 430, Palladius was sent by Celestine, the Roman Pontiff, to the Scots (that is the Irish) that believed, to be their first bishop, and from this it might be inferred that Christianity had made some progress in Ireland before that. In the 8th century there is no doubt the Irish believed that they had been converted by Saint Patrick; and that a saint of this name did go to Ireland about the year 432, and become at least a main instrument in the conversion of the Irish, is beyond doubt. There remains a confession or account of himself by St. Patrick, and a letter by him to Coroticus, the British prince then reigning at Dumbarton, which those competent to judge accept as genuine. From these it appears that he was born in the Roman province of Britain, that his father was a deacon, and also a decurio or “bailie” of a Roman provincial town, that his grandfather was a presbyter, that his father lived in “Bannavern of Tabernia,” that in his youth he was carried as a captive to Ireland and remained there for six years, that he then escaped and returned to his parents, and that he afterwards went back to Ireland as a missionary, and in or about his 45th year was ordained a bishop. In his confession he says that he converted many in Ireland who had hitherto worshipped unclean idols, that he had ordained many clerics, and that the sons of the Scoti, and the daughters of princes, were seen to be monks and virgins of Christ. All this seems to be authentic, but it is singular that Bede, while he mentions Palladius, makes no mention of Patrick, and that, when about 100 years after his death, the Irish and Scottish Church came in contact with the Church of Rome, and had to defend

their peculiar customs, they do not appeal to the authority of Patrie. Columbanus, in his controversy with the Clergy of Gaul, does not mention him, nor does Colman of Lindesfarne, in his controversy with Wilfred, in presence of King Oswy, appeal to his authority, and Adamnan only once mentions him incidentally as "Patrinus the Bishop." In the Irish annals there is frequent mention of a saint who is called *Sen*, or old Patrick, and who is said in one place to be the tutor of Patrie, and in another to have been the same as Palladius, and the later lives of St. Patrick are evidently made up of the acts of two distinct persons who are confounded.

It is certain, however, that about the year 432 Christianity was firmly established in Ireland, and it would appear that the type of Church then established did not differ in any respect from the Church in other parts of the Western World. It was a Church with three orders of clergy—bishops, priests, and deacons—and in which the bishops had the rule, if not over distinct districts or dioceses, at least over the churches which they had themselves established. The conversion of the Irish, it will be seen, was almost contemporaneous with the final departure of the Roman Legions from Britain, and with the arrival of the Saxons. Soon after the time of Patrick all intercourse between Ireland and the outer world seems to have ceased for upwards of 100 years, and during this time there grew up in Ireland a Church constituted in a manner entirely different from that founded by Saint Patrick, and exhibiting features which do not appear to have distinguished the Christian Church in any other part of the world at any time. And after this Church had fully developed itself in Ireland, it manifested an extraordinary missionary zeal which lasted for several centuries, and spread its establishments from Iceland to Italy, and covered the continent of Europe with bands of Scottish monks, apt scholars, and eager teachers. It was to this burst of missionary zeal that our ancestors owed their conversion in or about the year 565.

It may be well to consider for a moment what the political condition of Scotland was at this time. About the beginning of the century, Fergus Mor M'Erc, of the Royal Family of the Scots of Dalriada, in Ireland, had led a colony of Scots into Scotland,

and established himself in Argyleshire; his descendants had somewhat extended their dominions, and had crossed the mountain range separating Argyleshire and Perthshire—but about the time of which we now speak, Brude, the King of the Picts, had attacked them and driven them back within that range which from that time formed the boundary of the Scottish Kingdom during the whole time of its existence. The Picts held the whole country north of the Friths of Forth and Clyde; the Welsh or British Kingdom of Strathclyde, extending from Dumbarton to the River Derwent, was maintaining a struggling existence against the Saxons, and Galloway was inhabited by a race of Picts, who remained distinct, and retained the name of Picts, until long after the time of David First. It is usually said that the Picts in Scotland, north of the Friths, were divided into two nations, the Northern and the Southern Picts, and that the mission of St. Columba was to the Northern Picts. I venture to suggest, however, that this is a mistake. The statement rests on the authority of Bede, who, as I have mentioned, says that Ninian converted the Southern Picts. But in Bede's time King Oswy had extended his dominions up to the Grampians, and thus for a time created a division between the Picts subject to his authority, and those beyond the mountains who remained independent, and thus probably misled Bede. He heard or read that Ninian had converted the Southern Picts, and assumed that they were those subject to the Saxons; but I think it is obvious that the Picts, with whom St. Ninian came in contact, were those of Galloway, and they would naturally, in his time, be designated as Southern Picts, as distinguished from the Picts dwelling beyond the Northern Wall. The statement in the Saxon Chronicle is as follows:—

“A. 565. This year Ethelbert succeeded to the kingdom of the Kentish-men, and held it fifty-three years. In his days the holy pope Gregory sent us baptism, that was in the two and thirtieth year of his reign; and Columba, a mass-priest, came to the Picts, and converted them to the faith of Christ; they are dwellers by the northern mountains. And their king gave him the island which is called Ii [Iona]; therein are five hides of land, as men say. There Columba built a monastery, and he was abbat there thirty-seven years, and there he died when he was seventy-two years old. His successors still have the place. The Southern

Picts had been baptised long before: Bishop Ninia, who had been instructed at Rome, had preached baptism to them, whose church and his monastery is at Whitherne, consecrated in the name of St. Martin: there he resteth, with many holy men. Now in Ii there must ever be an abbat, and not a bishop; and all the Scottish bishops ought to be subject to him, because Columba was an abbat and not a bishop.

"A. 565. This year Columba, the presbyter, came from the Scots among the Britons, to instruct the Picts, and he built a monastery in the Island of Hii."

Be this as it may, however, it is quite clear that the Picts never were divided politically into two nations. We have lists of their kings, and they never had more than one king at a time, and there can be no doubt that Brude M'Mailchon, who was converted by Saint Columba, reigned over the whole Pictish race north of the Friths—his seat being at Inverness. His successor appears to have had his capital at Abernethy, and there is some ground for the conjecture that the Pictish kings may have been chosen alternately from two families, the one having its possessions and settlements south of the mountains, and the other north of them, but so far as I have been able to trace, there is no authority for holding that there was any political separation except during the thirty years that the Saxons held dominion up to the Grampians. I think, therefore, that we may safely hold that Saint Columba's mission was to the whole Pictish nation ruled by Brude, as his Church undoubtedly was established among them.

The reason of Saint Columba leaving Ireland is by one tradition said to have been that he was excommunicated, and sentenced to perpetual exile by a Council of the Irish Clergy on account of his having been the cause of the bloody Battle of Cuilbreanhné. But this is contradicted by all the facts of the Saint's life—for he repeatedly went from Iona to Ireland, and undoubtedly retained the rule over all the monasteries which he had founded in Ireland, and a most powerful influence in that country till his death. Adamnan mentions, however, that a sentence of excommunication was unjustly passed on him, but that it never took effect, or was recalled at the Council at which it was pronounced. His removal from Ireland, therefore, need not be attributed to any other cause than the missionary zeal which had taken possession of him and his contemporaries at that time; but it may have

had a partly political object, for at that time his kindred, the Scots of Dalriada, were being hard pressed by King Brude ; they were Christian, and he may have feared that they would be destroyed, and resolved to make an effort to save them. And it is a fact that from his time for very many years there was peace between the Picts and the Scots.

Whatever the impelling cause, in 565 Saint Columba sailed from Ireland and landed in Iona, and, finding it a suitable place for his purpose, he established there a monastery of monks on the model of that which he and others had previously established in Ireland, having obtained a grant of the island, according to Bede, from Brude, but, according to other accounts, from the King of the Scots of Dalriada. From thence he went to the Court of King Brude, then at Inverness; and he appears soon to have gained him over to the faith, and to have always retained a great influence over him. During the remaining years of his life he seems to have laboured mainly among the Picts, and before his death he had converted the whole nation and established his Church securely among them; and so vigorous was it that, within less than forty years after Columba's death, it undertook the conversion of the Northumbrians, and established a Church among them which existed, under the primacy of Iona, for thirty years, when it retired before the advancing Church of Rome.

As I have said, the Church which developed itself in Ireland, and of which the Scottish Church was long a branch, had certain peculiarities which distinguished it from all other Churches. To state these distinctions in a word, it may be said that the Church was a monastic tribal Church, not subject to the jurisdiction of Bishops.

Monasticism was first introduced from the East, but it was well-known in the Roman Church before the time of St. Patrick, and we have seen that he says that through his means the sons of the Scoti and the daughters of princes became monks and virgins of Christ; but in the Roman Church monasticism was an order within the Church, existing along with a secular clergy, and subject to the jurisdiction of the bishops. In the Church which developed itself in Ireland, and was introduced into Scotland, on the other hand, the whole Church was monastic, and subject to

the jurisdiction, not of bishops, but of abbots, who were not necessarily, and, in point of fact, seldom were bishops, and while the Episcopal Order and the special functions of the Episcopate in the matter of ordination and the celebration of the mass with Pontifical rites, was recognised, the bishop was not a prelate, but a functionary and official of the Church, living as a monk in the monastery, and subject to the abbot. This peculiarity of the Church was for long a battle ground between Presbyterians and Episcopalians, and founding on a passage in Fordun, it was maintained by the advocates of Presbyterianism that the Church of St. Columba was a Presbyterian Church, in something of the sense in which that word is applied to the present Churches in Scotland—but this contention is now exploded. In the sense of equality among the clergy, either in the matter of power or of functions, the Church was entirely different from the Presbyterian Churches. The abbot, although he might be only a presbyter, ruled over the whole community with absolute power. On the other hand, while the bishops had no jurisdiction, they were recognised as a distinct and necessary order of clergy, with certain functions which the presbyter could not assume, and the Church had thus the three orders of clergy, and that regular succession of Bishops, which are looked on by some as essential requisites of a Church. The respect in which St. Columba himself held bishops is shown by an anecdote told by Adamnan as follows:—

"Of Cronan the Bishop.—At another time, a stranger from the province of the Munstermen, who, in his humility, did all he could to disguise himself, so that nobody might know that he was a bishop, came to the saint; but his rank could not be hidden from the saint. For next Lord's day, being invited by the saint, as the custom was, to consecrate the Body of Christ, he asked the saint to join him, that, as two priests, they might break the bread of the Lord together. The saint went to the altar accordingly, and, suddenly looking into the stranger's face, thus addressed him:—'Christ bless thee, brother; do thou break the bread alone, according to the Episcopal rite, for I know now that thou art a bishop. Why hast thou disguised thyself so long, and prevented our giving thee the honour we owe to thee?' On hearing the saint's words, the humble stranger was greatly astonished, and adored Christ in His saint, and the bystanders in amazement gave glory to God."

We find too that when a mission was sent to a distance, the leader was ordained a bishop, so that he might be able to ordain local clergy, and in this case the office of abbot and bishop was generally combined. The three abbots who ruled at Lindesfarne, while the Church there was subject to Iona, were ordained bishops at Iona.

The tribal organization of the Church seems to have been a counterpart of the tribal organization of the people among whom it arose. There seems to have been no head of the Irish Church. Each saint bore rule over all the monasteries founded by him, and his disciples, and the abbot of the head monastery succeeded to this jurisdiction. Thus the Abbot of Iona, which had the primacy among the foundations of Columba, ruled over all the monasteries founded by him in Ireland and Scotland, and this continued till the community at Iona was broken up. The monks belonging to the foundations of one saint thus formed an ecclesiastical tribe, and in the same way the monks in each monastery formed a sub-tribe. There was, too, a regular law of succession to the headship of a monastery. We find mention of lay tribes and monastic tribes in the Brehon laws, and elaborate rules are laid down for the succession to an Abbacy. Thus the succession was first in the tribe of the patron saint, next in the tribe of the land, or to which the land had belonged, next to one of the *finé manach*, that is, the monastic tribe, or family living in the monastery, next to the *anoit Church*, next to a *dalta Church*, next to a *compairche Church*, next to a neighbouring *cill Church*, and lastly to a pilgrim. That is, if there was a person in the monastery of the tribe of the patron saint fit to be abbot, he succeeded; if not, then the succession went to one of the tribe from whom the land had been acquired, and if there was no such, then it went to all the others in succession, the Churches mentioned being connected in various degrees with the foundation, the headship of which was vacant. According to this rule, we find that for more than a hundred years the Abbots of Iona were all of the tribe and family from which Columba himself was descended.

The peculiarity which, however, appears to have attracted most attention from the Roman clergy, when the two Churches came in contact in the seventh century, was the time at which the

Scottish clergy celebrated the festival of Easter, and their form of tonsure, and these were for long subjects of contention. The difference in the mode of calculating Easter is easily accounted for, as the Scottish Church adhered to the method which was common to the whole Western Church, previous to 457, when all connection between Britain and Ireland and the Continent ceased; and during the time of isolation a new method of computation was adopted by the Roman Church; but the mode of tonsure is not so easily accounted for. The Columban Monks tonsured the front of the head from ear to ear, while in the Roman Church the crown of the head was tonsured. The former mode of tonsure was that adopted at one time by the Eastern Church, and it may point to some Eastern influence on the Irish Monastic Church at the time of its development.

(To be continued.)

LINES ON GENERAL GORDON.

Tha bratach bhròin an diugh 'n'ar tir
'S tha'n riogh'chd a caoidh gu truagh;
Is gaisgeach tréum n' an cath 's na'm blàr
Foidh ghlais a bhais na shuain.

Bho'n luchairt aird is àillidh dreach,
Gus'n tigh is isle th' ann;
Tha goimh a bhròin an cridh' gach neach
Is caraid caomh air chall.

'Bu ghrad a fhreagair thus' a ghairm
'Nuair dh'farradh ort dol 'null;
Ach och! mo leòn, bu bhoich do dhiol,
'S cha b'ann a' reir do dhiùil.

Is smal air cliù ar riogh'chd gu bràth
Mar dh' fhag iad thu 'san uair,
Ri aghaidh mhilltean naimh leat fein,
Gun chuideachadh sa chruas.

Cha b'ann sa chath, 's cha b'ann sa bhlar,
A fhuair do namh ort buadh;
Ach foill an ti a fhuair do bhàigh,
'S thug do bhàs mu'n cuairt.

Is iomadh dilleachdan gun treoir,
Is deoraidh bochd is truagh;
Tha caoidh an aon fhear-cuidichidh
An saoghal falamh fuar.

Is dorcha dhuinne rùn an Ti,
A ghairm da riogh'chd thu 'n dràs;
Tha aobhar aige anns gach nì,
Is bith'mid strìochda dha.

Ledaig.

JOHN CAMPBELL.

YACHTING AND ELECTIONEERING IN THE HEBRIDES.

I.

HAVING lately had the opportunity of a month's tour in the Hebrides and on the West Coast in a steam yacht, I think that a recital of the journey, with notes of the various places visited, may prove interesting to every reader of this Magazine.

Strome-Ferry was our starting-place proper, and, before fairly launching out upon the account of our trip, I must not forget to mention the ruins of the old Castle upon the north side of Strome Ferry. From the south side they are hardly distinguishable from the grey rock upon which they are perched, so much do they resemble it in appearance. In Mackenzie's *History of the Camerons* we are told that in 1472 Allan Cameron, XIII. of Lochiel became a vassal of Celestine, Lord of Lochalsh, and Constable of his Castle of Strome. On 6th March, 1539, the Castle of Strome, with the lands attached, was granted by James V. to Alexander of Glengarry and Margaret of the Isles, his spouse, in liferent, and Angus, their son and heir-apparent, in fee. In the early part of the seventeenth century, Donald, VIII. of Glengarry, in a skirmish with the Mackenzies of Kintail, took prisoner one Duncan MacIan Mhic Ghillechallum, and incarcerated him in Strome Castle. About a year after this, Kenneth, first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, gathered his forces and laid siege to the Castle, which at first defied all his efforts. An act of carelessness, however, upon the part of the women in the Castle destroyed the hopes of the defenders, and ultimately rendered the fortress an easy prey to the invaders. The women had been out at night for water, and, bringing it in in the dark, they inadvertently poured it into a vat containing the whole store of gunpowder, instead of into the proper water-vat, rendering the powder of course absolutely useless. Duncan MacIan Mhic Ghillechallum, who was still a prisoner in the Castle, heard of the state of

matters next morning, and, looking over the battlements, perceived, to his intense disgust, that the Mackenzies, despairing of being able to take the Castle, were preparing to raise the siege and depart. Seeing his hopes of release thus vanishing, Duncan formed a sudden and bold resolve. Flinging his plaid over the head of the man who stood next him, he jumped over the ramparts on to a large manure-heap just below. Before the Macdonalds had realised what had occurred, Duncan had picked himself up out of the mire, and was running with all his might towards Mackenzie's camp, which he reached in safety, and informed Kintail of the defenceless state to which the Castle had been reduced by the loss of the gunpowder. The chief, highly elated at the welcome news, at once recommenced the siege, and, seeing that the case was hopeless, the Macdonalds thought discretion the better part of valour, and gave up the Castle, on condition of their lives being spared and their being permitted to bring out their baggage. This being granted, the Castle was formally surrendered to Kintail, who blew up the building, of which nothing now remains but the moss-grown walls.

Our yacht was named the *Carlotta*, of 37 tons register. She carried a crew of eight, all told, including the steward, and was very comfortably fitted up, but, as we afterwards found, also very slow. The others on board were—Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P., and the writer. We left Strome-Ferry about noon on Saturday, the 5th of September, 1885, and, steaming down Loch-Carron, entered Kyle Akin, "the Strait of Haco." At the entrance to this Strait, in the year 1263, the proud Norwegian King anchored his noble fleet of over a hundred war-galleys, to beard the Scottish Lion in his den, and establish the authority of the Norse Raven over the Western Isles and shores of Albion. But a few short months and that gallant fleet was scattered and destroyed by the furious tempests that came as it were to protect our land from the invader, whilst Haco, leaving the flower of his golden-haired warriors dead upon the blood-stained field of Largs, sailed to Orkney, and there died broken-hearted—

"And they buried him in Orkney, and Norsemen never more
Set sail to harry Scotland, or plunder on her shore."

Upon a large rock jutting out into the Kyle are the ruins of Castle Moil, anciently known as Dunakyne, or Haco's Fort, said to have been erected by a Norwegian Princess for the purpose of levying a toll upon all ships passing through the Strait. She had a strong chain stretched across the Kyle, the ends being attached to iron rings fixed in the rock on either side. The Castle afterwards became a seat of the Clan Mackinnon. It now presents, from certain points of view, a very picturesque appearance, looking as if it had been split in half by some great convulsion.

Passing through the Kyle, where we saw several shoals of herring, we entered Loch-Alsh, and soon after steamed up Loch-Duich, without doubt the most beautiful of our Scottish sea-lochs. The day was lovely, and the shores of the Loch, fringed with wood and clothed with verdure, all reflected in the blue mirror below, presented a charming picture. In the distance towered in magnificent grandeur the snow-crowned mountains of Kintail, with the historic Tullochard, the gathering-peak of the Seaforth Mackenzies, rearing its proud crest to the skies. At the junction of Loch-Duich and Loch-Long, opposite the pretty little village of Dornie, we dropped anchor, and rowed across to inspect the picturesque ruins of Eileandonan Castle, the ancient feudal stronghold of the Mackenzies.

In 1263, after the battle of Largs, Walter Stewart, Earl of Menteith, is said to have built this Castle for the purpose of over-awing the Western Islesmen. There is a tradition that Robert the Bruce was sheltered for some time in the Castle by John Mackenzie, II. of Kintail, until the exiled monarch was able again to gather an army and release Scotland from the bonds of the tyrant usurper.

In 1331, "Schyre Thomas," Earl of Moray, and Lord Warden of Scotland, under King David II., sent his "Crownare" or Lieutenant to Eileandonan to prepare the Castle for his reception, and to execute summary justice upon sundry lawbreakers in that part of the country. Wyntoun, in his *Chronicle*, describes the proceedings as follows:—

" Off hys byddyng (than) alsa fast
Till Elandonan his Crownare past,
For till arest mysdoaris thare,

Quhare that mony that tyme ware,
And thare to ger hym purvaid be ;
For thiddyre swne to pass thowcht he.
This Crownare, wyth a cumpany
Off manlyk men, sowcht naroly
Thai mysdoaris here and thare,
That in hys rollys wryttyn ware.
All gat he noucht ; bot fyfty
That fleand ware, (al) wychtly
As (he) ouretuke wyth mckill payne,
Fleand the lauch, thai ware all slayne ;
And the hevyddis off thame all
Were set up upon the wall
Hey (on heycht) on Elandonan,
Agayne the come off the Wardan.
Off that sycht he was rycht blyth ;
And till his court he yhed rycht swyth,
And off the lave that entryde ware
Justyce he dyde evynlyk thare,
Bot hym mystryd noucht (to) call
Thame, that flowryd sa well that wall :
Feware thai ware noucht than fyfty
Hevyddis grynmand rycht wgly."

The spectacle of the fifty human heads, "grinning right ugly," which made the Warden "right blythe," was unhappily not an uncommon one in the "good old days."

In 1452, Euphemia Leslie, Dowager Countess of Ross, who had fallen in love with Alexander Ionraic, VI. of Kintail, sent for him to come to her Court at Dingwall, and there declared to him her passion. Finding, however, that her love was unrequited, she determined to have revenge, and accordingly had Kintail apprehended and lodged in prison. Eileandonan Castle was then under the charge of one named MacAulay, whose orders were not to leave the Castle, nor permit anyone to enter it without receiving Kintail's gold ring as a token. The vengeful Countess managed, by force or fraud, to gain possession of this ring from Mackenzie's page, and she at once sent a gentleman to Eileandonan with it, bearing also the message that Kintail was about to wed the Countess of Ross, and desiring MacAulay to repair to Dingwall forthwith, and leave the Castle in the messenger's hands. MacAulay, on seeing the ring, did not for a moment doubt the truth of the story, and accordingly gave the guardianship of the

castle over to the Countess's emissary, and went to Dingwall, where he found to his astonishment that Kintail was a prisoner instead of a bridegroom. He managed, however, to speak to the captive chief, who told him that his only hope of release was the arrest of the Countess's nephew, Ross of Balnagown. MacAulay, acting on the hint, collected a band of resolute clansmen and apprehended Ross near his own house. A pursuit was organised as soon as the abduction was discovered, but MacAulay, having sent Balnagown away under guard, defeated the pursuers at Bealach-nam-Brog, and proceeded with his men to Kintail. At Glenluing, a few miles from Eileandonan, the Mackenzies came across a band of thirty men sent by the Countess with provisions for the garrison. These men were taken by surprise and speedily secured, the Mackenzies donning their prisoners' tartans and taking the sacks of provisions upon their backs. Thus disguised, they went on to the Castle and gained admission without enquiry, the governor making sure that they were his own friends with the expected supplies. Once fairly inside, the Mackenzies threw down their burdens, drew their weapons, and seized the Governor and all his men, keeping them prisoners until Kintail was exchanged for the Governor and Balnagown.*

In 1539, Donald Gorm Mor Macdonald of Sleat, made a raid upon Eileandonan with fifty large boats, full of men. The sole defenders of the Castle at the time were the governor, his watchman, and Duncan MacGillechriost MacFhionnladh MhicRath. The latter was on the mainland when the Macdonalds arrived, but, noticing the invaders, he returned to the Castle with all his speed, and arrived at the gate in time to kill some of the Islesmen as they were landing. Entering the Castle, Duncan secured the gate with a second bar of iron inside, which resisted all the efforts of Donald Gorm and his followers, who then commenced shooting their arrows through the embrasures. By this means they killed the Governor, and the Castle was then only occupied by Duncan and the watchman, their ammunition being reduced to one barbed arrow. Donald Gorm came ashore at this stage, and was walking round the Castle endeavouring to discover a weak point

* *History of the Clan Mackenzie.*

for an escalade, when Duncan's well-aimed shaft penetrated his foot. Not noticing that it was a barbed arrow, Donald Gorm wrenched it out, and in so doing severed the main artery. It was found impossible to arrest the bleeding, and his men conveyed the Island chief to a sand-bank some distance away, where he soon breathed his last.

In 1550, the Castle was the scene of a cruel murder, when John Glassich Mackenzie, II. of Gairloch, was imprisoned in it, and poisoned by the wife of the Constable. This, it is said, was done by order of Kenneth, X. of Kintail.

During the Jacobite rising of 1715, Eileandonan was taken by the Government troops, but it was retaken by stratagem shortly before the Battle of Sheriffmuir. The incident is thus described :—"A neighbouring tenant applied to the Governor for some of the garrison to cut his corn, as he feared, from the appearance of the sky and the croaking of the ravens, that a heavy storm was impending, and that nothing but a sudden separation of his crop from the ground could save his family from starvation. The Governor readily yielded to his solicitations, and sent the garrison of Government soldiers then in the Castle to his aid, who, on their return, discovered the ruse too late ; for the Kintail men were by this time reaping the spoils, and had taken possession of the Castle." Before the Kintailmen left to shed their blood for the Stuarts on Sheriffmuir, they had a farewell dance on the leaden roof of Eileandonan Castle. In 1719, after the battle of Glenshiel, General Wightman sent a detachment of soldiers, with orders to have it blown up. This command was carried out, and now the famous fortress presents only a picturesque ruin.

It was with mixed feelings that I wandered about through the ruins, now finding myself on the brink of a black precipice descending sheer into the sea, and now catching, through some loop-hole, a delightful glimpse of the beautiful scenery around. Feelings of regret for the magnificent race of men who once tenanted those deserted chambers, were mingled with feelings of thankfulness that I did not live in times when deeds of blood were of everyday occurrence, and when troublesome friends or enemies were quietly put out of the way by the dagger or the poison-cup, and their bodies thrown into the sea, or buried in some out-of-the-

way corner without requiem or coronach. Down in the still depths beneath I could see great fragments of masonry which had been hurled downwards by the force of the explosion which had demolished the Castle. In one octagonal tower I came across a black, dismal-looking well, some four feet in diameter. The green slime lay thick upon the inky water, and I must confess to an eerie feeling creeping over me as I cautiously approached the shelving and slippery brink. I was afterwards told that the water was not very deep, the well having been almost filled up some five years ago, but the appearance of it at the time of my visit gave one the idea of great depth. When cleared out, an old iron gate and two small brass cannon were found at the bottom of this well. The cannon would appear to have been fastened into the top of the wall by a pin underneath them.

Leaving the Castle, we rowed about three miles up Loch-Long, an offshoot of Loch-Duich. In no part is this Loch more than a quarter of a mile broad, and the entrance is too shallow at most states of the tide for vessels of any burden to pass through. The scenery at first is tame, but, as you proceed, each bend of the Loch reveals fresh beauties, and, towards the head, the shores almost rival those of Loch-Duich itself. After feasting our eyes upon the scene for some time, we returned to the yacht, weighed anchor, and steamed up to near the head of Loch-Duich, anchoring a short distance past Inverinate House, then the residence of Sir Thomas and Lady Brassey. At this spot we were to remain at anchor until Monday morning. Our cook was a very good piper, and, shortly after dusk, as we were at dinner, he commenced playing on deck. As the last notes of "Corn rigs and barley rigs" died away on the still night-air, we were astonished to hear a loud outburst of cheering from the shore, mingled with repeated cries of "*tuilleadh, tuilleadh*"—more, more. It was too dark to distinguish anything on shore, but from the voices we conjectured that the sound of the bagpipes on board the yacht had attracted a considerable number of the natives to the spot. The musician was greatly flattered at this unexpected tribute to his genius, and, after playing a few more tunes on board, he, with some of the other men, slipped quietly ashore and inaugurated a dance in a cottage, which lasted till the advent of the Sabbath put an end to the festivities.

Late in the evening, Sir Thomas Brassey's well-known yacht, the *Sunbeam*, fresh from the famous Norwegian trip, steamed up the Loch, and anchored two or three hundred yards away from us.

Next day Lady Brassey invited me to look over the *Sunbeam*, an offer of which I gladly availed myself. The *Sunbeam* is quite a floating palace, fitted up in the most luxurious manner. Her many saloons and sleeping-cabins are marvels of elegance and comfort, while the taste of Lady Brassey is displayed in the numberless pictures and curios which adorn the walls and tables in the different apartments. On deck, as below, everything is the perfection of neatness and tidiness. The funnel, when not in use, comes back upon a hinge, and lies horizontally upon the deck. The sides of the vessel are painted white. The crew numbers twenty-seven, and the yacht carries six boats.

The country around Loch-Duich is full of interesting and historical associations. Morvich, at the head of the Loch, was the scene of the famous "Pet Lamb's" depredations upon Winans' great deer forest. The animal which caused such a sensation throughout the United Kingdom, the Colonies, and America, is, we believe, still alive, and is permitted elsewhere to wander about according to the dictates of its own sweet will. Opening up from the head of the Loch is Glenshiel, the scene of the Spanish Invasion of 1719, and of the famous battle at which the invaders were defeated by the Government troops under General Wightman.

In May, 1778, Kenneth Mackenzie, XIX. of Kintail, in return for the restoration, by George III., of the titles of Earl of Seaforth, Viscount Fortrose, and Baron Ardelve, raised a regiment of 1130 men for His Majesty's service. Five hundred of these were raised from among his own immediate vassals, and about four hundred from the estates of the Mackenzies of Scatwell, Kilcoy, Applecross, and Redcastle. Some gentlemen from the South, to whom Seaforth gave commissions in the regiment, brought with them about two hundred men, of whom forty-three were English and Irish. The Macraes of Kintail, who were ever faithful and devoted followers of the Seaforth family, were so numerous in the regiment that it was known more by their name than by that of the Mackenzies themselves. This corps, in June, 1778, was inspected at Elgin by General Skene, and then

embodied under the name of Seaforth's Highlanders, or the 78th Regiment. It is now the 72nd, and considered to be one of the finest regiments in the British Army.

When William, fifth Earl of Seaforth, was obliged to remain in France for several years for his complicity in the Rising of 1715, the rents of his lands were regularly collected and sent to him by a faithful steward, named Murchison. This man was able, with the aid of Seaforth's clansmen, to keep possession of the Earl's forfeited estates until they were restored to his Lordship in 1726. The tenantry are said to have sent their exiled Chief various gifts in proportion to their circumstances. One year Murchison remitted no less than £800 of rent to his master in France, while at the same time the tenantry paid another rent to the Commissioners of the forfeited estates.

These things happened in Kintail's palmy days, when a clannish feeling of attachment bound the heart of landlord and tenant—or rather chief and clansman—together; when deer forests and “irrepressible Americans” were unknown in the Highlands; when the people possessed their lands without fear of summary eviction; and when the land yielded sufficient to pay the rent, to furnish a gift to an exiled landlord, and to support the tenant and his family in ease and comfort. Alas! those days are gone! In 1831, the population of the parish of Kintail was 1240; in 1841, it had decreased to 1186; in 1851, to 1009; and in 1881, to 688. These figures need no comment—they tell their own sad tale. The parish which in 1778 turned out 500 able-bodied Highlanders for the service of their King and country, could not now turn out 100! The avarice of grasping and degenerate chiefs has worked the ruin of the people who were the means of making them chiefs, and the spots, where hundreds of happy and contented people once spent their peaceful lives, are now preserves for deer and pastures for sheep! No human foot, save that of the sportsman, the gillie, and the shepherd, is permitted to intrude upon the vast desolations which are the curse and disgrace of our land; but the time is coming, slowly but no less surely, when the land will once more be the people's; when wild animals will no longer be deemed of more account than men; and when a retributive Justice shall have swept the

present system of landlordism off the face of a country which it has brought to the verge of utter ruin.

HECTOR ROSE MACKENZIE.

(To be continued.)

ETYMOLOGY OF DUMBARTON.

DUMBARTON has always been said to mean the Fort of the Britons. George Chalmers (*Caledonia*), Isaac Taylor (*Words and Places*), James A. Robertson (*Gaelic Topography*), and others, refer to this way of explaining the name, and do not suggest any other. Some years ago there occurred to me another explanation, which is now offered for the consideration of the reader. I have not seen it in print, and I have not heard it mentioned in conversation. I have gone past Dumbarton five times; once I was in the town for an hour, but I had not time to visit the Rock. The Rock rises to the height of 206 feet. Towards the top it is cleft into two summits, of which one is higher than the other; it is somewhat like a mitre; the cleft begins about half way up the Rock, so that the gap or fissure measures about one hundred feet from its commencement to the top of the higher summit. The Gaelic *bearn* means a notch, a gap; the verb *bearn* is to notch; *bearnata* is notched. Perhaps it was called Dunbearn, the Hill of the Notch, or Dunbearna, the Notched Hill. The houses which afterwards were built near its foot were called Dunbearnata; shortened and softened into Dumbarton. The hill gave its name to the town, and then the town gave its name to the hill. Before *b* the *n* was changed to *m*. The Celt has a very quick eye for natural objects, and looking at the pinnacle-shaped hill, cleft from above downwards for one hundred feet, leaving a gap which is, perhaps, fifty or sixty feet wide at the top, he could hardly avoid calling it Dun (hill), Bearna (notched). Was the name given by Gaelic Celts or by Kymric Celts? On looking at Price's English-Welsh Dictionary (1857), I find that gap, or cleft, or notch, is not represented in Welsh by *bearn* or any word like it. Assuming that the name referred to the gap, it has been given by the Gaelic race. The usual readers of the *Celtic Magazine* are not likely to grumble at space being given to antiquarian matters, but perhaps some stranger may glance at this page and ask what is the use of troubling about things belonging to the long ago. I answer him in the words of Mr. Gladstone:—"It is a degradation to man to be reduced to the life of the present. He will never put forth his hopes, his views, and his efforts towards the future, with due effect and energy, unless, at the same time, he prizes, and holds fondly clasped to his heart, the recollections of the past." (Address to the Edinburgh Town Council, November, 1885, on handing over to their care the market cross, which he had rebuilt.) It is, perhaps, a little strange that they who named the hill did not call it Craig-bearna. The word *bearn* is met with in Craige-barns, a hill near Dunkeld; also in Pyrenees. I do not wish to be thought very positive, but my private opinion is that Dumbarton has nothing to do with the Britons, but that it is the town near the hill with the cleft top. I apologise for making this note so long, but it is not every day that a person has the chance of pointing out a mistake that has been believed in for a thousand years, from the time of the venerable Bede even unto this day.

Devonport, Devon.

THOMAS STRATTON, M.D. (Edin.)

THE CONFLICTS OF THE CLANS.

(Continued.)

THE TROUBLES BETWEEN THE EARLS OF HUNTLY AND
MORAY.

WHILST the North of Scotland was thus in a combustion, the Spanish Blanks were discovered, and Mr. George Carr, Doctor of the Laws, was apprehended in the Isle of Cumbrae, and brought back to Edinburgh, 1592. Afterward, the year of God, 1594, the Popish Earls, Angus, Huntly, and Errol, were, at the earnest suit of the Queen of England's ambassador, forfeited at a Parliament held at Edinburgh the penult of May, 1594. Then was the King moved to make the Earl of Argyll, his Majesty's Lieutenant in the North of Scotland, to invade the Earls of Huntly and Errol. Argyll, being glad of this employment (having received money from the Queen of England for this purpose), makes great preparation for the journey, and addresses himself quickly forward; thinking thereby to have a good occasion to revenge his brother-in-law, the Earl of Moray's death; so on he went, with full assurance of a certain victory, accompanied with the Earl of Tullibardine, Sir Lachlan Maclean, and divers Islanders, Mackintosh, Grant, and Clan Gregor, Macneill of Barra, with all their friends and dependers, together with the whole surname of Campbell, with sundry others, whom either greediness of prey or malice against the Gordons, had thrust forward in that expedition; in all, above 10,000 men. And, coming through all the mountainous countries of that part of Scotland, they arrived at Ruthven of Badenoch, the 27th of September, the year 1594, which house they besieged, because it appertained to Huntly; but it was so well defended by the Clan Pherson (Huntly's servants) that Argyll was forced to give over the siege and to address himself towards the Lowlands; where the Lord Forbes, with his kin, the Frasers, the Dunbars, the Clan Kenzie, the Irvines, the Ogilvies,

the Leslie, the Munroes, and divers other surnames of the North, should have met him as the King's Lieutenant, and so join with his forces against Huntly.

Argyll came thus forward to Drummin, in Strathdown, and encamped hard thereby, the 2nd of October. Huntly and Errol, hearing of this great preparation made against them, lacked neither courage nor resolution; they assemble all such as would follow them and their fortune in this extremity. Errol came unto the Earl of Huntly to Strathbogie with 100 or 120 of resolute gentlemen; and so, having there joined with Huntly's forces, they march forward from thence to Carnburgh, and then to Achindown, with 1500 horsemen, the 3rd of October; parting from Achindown, Huntly sent Captain Thomas Carr and some of the family of Tillieboudie (Gordon), to spy the fields and view the enemy. These gentlemen, meeting by chance with Argyll's spies, killed them all, except one whom they saved and examined, and by him understood that Argyll was at hand. This accident much encouraged the Earl of Huntly's men, taking this as a presage of an ensuing victory; whereupon Huntly and Errol do resolve to fight with Argyll before he should join with the Lord Forbes and the rest of his forces; so they march towards the enemy, who, by this time, was at Glenlivet, in the mountains of Strathavon.

The Earl of Argyll, understanding that Huntly was at hand, who (as he believed) durst not show his countenance against such an army, he was somewhat astonished, and would gladly have delayed the battle until he had met with the Lord Forbes; but, perceiving them to draw near, and trusting to his great number, he began to order his battle, and to encourage his people with the hope of prey, and the enemy's small forces to resist them. He gave the commandment and leading of his vanguard to Sir Lachlan Maclean and to Achinbreck, which did consist of 4000 men, whereof 2000 men were hagbutters. Argyll himself and Tullibardine followed with all the rest of the army. The Earl of Errol and Sir Patrick Gordon of Achindown, accompanied with the Laird of Gight, Bonnetoun Wood, and Captain Carr, led the Earl of Huntly's vanguard, which consisted of 300 gentlemen; Huntly followed them with the rest of his company,

having the Laird of Cluny (Gordon), upon his right hand, and Abergeldie upon the left hand ; and, as he began to march forward, he encouraged his men, shewing them that there was no remedy, but either to obtain the victory, or to die with their weapons in their hands, in defence of whatsoever they held dearest in this world. Argyll, his army being all footmen, and assailed, had the advantage of the ground ; for they were arrayed in battle upon the top of a steep, rough, and craggy mountain, at the descent whereof the ground was foggy, mossy, and full of peat-pots, exceeding dangerous for horse. Huntly's forces consisted all in horsemen, and were constrained to ride first through the mossy ground at the foot of the hill, and then to ride up against that heathy, rough mountain, to pursue the enemy, who did there attend them. Before that Errol and Achindown gave the first charge, Huntly caused Captain Andrew Grey (now Colonel of the English and Scottish in Bohemia) to shoot three field-pieces of ordnance at the enemy, which bred a confused tumult among them, by the slaughter of MacNeill of Barra, an Islander, and one of the most valiant men of that party. Huntly's vanguard, seeing the enemy disordered, presently gave the charge ; the Earl of Errol, with the most part of the vanguard, turned their sides towards the enemy, and so went a little about, directly towards Argyll, leaving Maclean and the vanguard upon their left hand, being forced thereto by the steepness of the hill, and the thick shot of the enemy ; but Achindown, with the rest of his company, did gallop up against the hill towards Maclean ; so that Achindown himself was the first man that invaded the enemy, and the first that was slain by them, having lost himself by his too much forwardness. The fight was cruel and furious for a while. Achindown's servants and followers, perceiving their master fall, raged among their enemies, as if they had resolved to revenge his death, and to accompany him in dying. Maclean, again playing the part of a good commander, compassed Huntly's vanguard, and enclosed them betwixt him and Argyll, having engaged themselves so far that now there was no hope of retreat ; so that they were in danger to be all cut to pieces, if Huntly had not come speedily to their support, where he was in great danger of his life, his horse being slain under him ; but being presently horsed again

by Invermarkie, he rushed in among the enemies. Thus the battle was again renewed with great fury, and continued two hours. In end, Argyll with his main battle began to decline, and then to flee apace, leaving Maclean still fighting in the field ; who, seeing himself thus destitute of succours, and his men either fled or slain, retired in good order with the small company he had about him, and saved himself by flight ; having behaved himself in the battle, not only like a good commander, but also like a valiant soldier. Huntly and his horsemen followed the chase beyond the brook of Aldchonlihan, killing the enemies, till the steepness of the next mountains did stay them, being inaccessible for horsemen. Argyll's ensign was found in the place of battle, and brought back with them to Strathbogie. The Earl of Argyll lost in this battle his two cousins, Archibald Campbell of Lochnell, and his brother, James Campbell, with divers of Achinbreck's friends, MacNeill of Barra, and 700 common soldiers. Neither was the victory very pleasing to the Earl of Huntly, for, besides that the Earl of Errol, the Laird of Gight, and the most part of all his company were hurt and wounded, Sir Patrick Gordon of Achindown, his uncle, a wise, valiant, and resolute knight, with 14 others, were there slain. All their hurt men were carried that night to Achindown, where most part of them stayed until they were recovered. This battle was fought on Thursday, the 3rd day of October, 1594.

The Lord Forbes, the lairds of Buchan and Drum, assembled all their friends and followers, with intention to join with Argyll ; but, hearing of his overthrow, they conclude to join with the Dunbars, and the rest of the forces coming from the provinces of Moray and Ross, and so to invade the Gordons when they came from the battle, thinking it now an easy matter to overthrow them, and to revenge old quarrels. To this effect the whole surname of Forbes, with most part of the Leslie and the Irvines, met at Druminour (the Lord Forbes's dwelling) and so went on, thinking to overtake Argyll, and to cause him return and renew the battle against the Gordons and their partakers ; but, as they marched forward, a gentleman called Irvine was killed with the shot of a pistol, in the dark of the night, hard by the Lord Forbes, the author of which shot was never yet known until this day ; for

presently all their pistols were searched and found to be full. This unexpected accident bred such a confusion and amazement in the minds of the Forbese and their followers, being now all afraid of one another, that they dissolved their companies, and returned home. The rest of the clans in the North, such as the Dunbars, the Frasers, the Munroes, and the Clan Kenzie, being convened at Forres in Moray, were stayed by the policy of Dunbar of Moyness, who was then tutor to the Sheriff of Moray, and favoured the Earl of Huntly, Sir Patrick Gordon of Achindown having married his mother.

Whilst the Earl of Argyll was thus employed against Huntly, the King came to Dundee, where he expected the issue of that battle; which, when he had heard, His Majesty took journey north toward Strathbogie. In this voyage His Majesty, by the instigation of Huntly and Errol's greatest enemies, permitted (though unwillingly) divers houses to be thrown down, such as the house of Strathbogie, which appertained to Huntly, the house of Slaines, in Buchan, appertaining to the Earl of Errol, the house of Culsamond, in Garioch, appertaining to the Laird of Newton Gordon, the house of Bagays, in Angus, appertaining to Sir Walter Lindsay, and the house of Craig, in Angus, appertaining to Sir John Ogilvy, son to the Lord Ogilvy. In this meantime that the King was at Strathbogie, the Earl of Huntly, with divers of his friends, went into Sutherland and Caithness; and, when His Majesty returned into Edinburgh, Huntly left the Kingdom, and travelled through Germany, France, and Flanders; having stayed abroad one year and five months, he was recalled again by the King; and, at his return, both he, Angus, and Errol were again restored to their former honours and dignities, at a Parliament held in Edinburgh in November, 1597; and further, His Majesty honoured the Earl of Huntly with the honour of Marquis, the year 1599. All quarrels betwixt him and the Earls of Argyll and Moray were taken away by the marriage of Argyll's eldest daughter, to George, Lord Gordon, Huntly's eldest son, and by the marriage of Lady Anne Gordon, Huntly's daughter, to James, Earl of Moray, son to him that was slain at Dunibristle.

(To be continued.)

ST. KILDA.

III.

THE moral character of the St. Kildeans has always been high. In 1758, when Mr. MacAulay visited the Island, he found the people simple, hospitable, polite, and untainted with vice. He saw no cases of drunkenness during his stay, but he noticed that the men were excessively fond of tobacco, for which they would barter away their cows, sheep, grain, and feathers. Swearing and theft were unknown when Martin visited St. Kilda. The children were baptised by the steward or his deputy. The first illegitimate birth in the Island occurred in 1862, and since then only two other cases have been recorded. Towards the end of the 17th century, one of the natives, named Roderick, practised an impious but well-executed imposition upon his fellow-islanders. This man, who pretended to have been sent by John the Baptist to rule over St. Kilda, kept up the deception for some years, but was at length exposed, disgraced, and banished, after committing many shameful crimes under the cloak of religion, by the steward, Mr. Martin, and the Rev. John Campbell, minister of Harris.

From the time of the Rev. Mr. Buchan's instalment as minister of St. Kilda in 1705, there has been almost a continuous succession of ministers until now. The present incumbent, the Rev. John Mackay, has held his lonely post since October, 1865. Since the year after the Disruption, the Free Church have taken charge of St. Kilda, and it is said that the Sustentation Fund is augmented by £10 every year from this little Island congregation.

An incidental reference to the building called the Staller's House was made last month. This curious erection is of very doubtful origin, some alleging it to have been the work of a devout hermit; others that of a bold man who headed an insurrection against the steward of St. Kilda, and, possessing himself of the Island of Boreray, built upon it this habitation for himself

and his accomplices. The building is about eighteen feet high, and so contrived as to be almost invisible from most points of view, its top being nearly level with the surface of the earth around it. The base is circular, each successive tier of stones being smaller than the one below it, until the orifice at the top admits of being covered with a single stone. In the middle of the building was a large hearth, and round the inside wall there was formed a paved seat, capable of holding sixteen people. There were also four stone beds in the thickness of the wall, to each of which there was a separate entry from the outside. The roof of the house fell in many years ago, and has never been replaced.

Some of the older writers upon St. Kilda refer to an old fort which stood upon the Island which forms the southern side of the Bay of St. Kilda. This building was called *Dun-Fhir-Bholg*. It consisted of large, nearly square, stones, neatly put together with a knowledge of masonry not found among the St. Kildeans at the time of Mr. MacAulay's visit. In 1758 there were three chapels in St. Kilda, one dedicated to Christ, one to St. Columba, and the other to St. Brendan. They were all built of stone, and, at the time of Mr. MacAulay's visit, were in fairly good preservation. Not a vestige of them now remains.

The St. Kildeans observed six holidays annually. These were the feasts of Sts. Columba and Brendan, Christmas, New Year's day, Easter, and Michaelmas. On the two first-mentioned days, according to Mr. MacAulay, all the milk in the island was delivered up to the steward or his deputy, who thereupon divided it equally and impartially between every man, woman, and child in the Island. On Christmas and New Year's day, the St. Kildeans ate the best food they could afford, drank liberally, and danced with great vigour. Easter was observed in a solemn and quiet manner, while Michaelmas was a sort of Derby-day. On that day a procession was formed on the shore, all the people who had horses being mounted, without saddle or bridle, except a wisp of straw to guide the horse's head. The procession went as far as the houses, when the horses returned to the shore for those people who had been left behind, and this went on until everyone in the Island had taken part in the proceedings. It was also the

custom at this festival to prepare in each family a large loaf of bread, which was dedicated to St. Michael, and divided among the members of the family.

Mr. MacAulay mentions a large, square, white stone, on the face of a hill between the village and the north-west side of the Island, on which the inhabitants used to pour libations of milk every Sunday to a deity called Gruagach. A little above this stone was a small green plain, where the St. Kildeans used to pray for blessings upon their cattle, and where they used to sanctify them with salt, water, and fire, when removing them from one grazing to another. Below this plain there was another one of much the same character, which the people would never convert into arable ground, believing it to be the chosen abode of some divinity, whose name they had forgotten, and that any attempt to disturb it would at once be punished by the loss of their boat, or some other heavy calamity. Sacrifices were offered to the God of the Seasons upon an eminence called Mullach-geal. In a glen on the north-west side of the Island there existed a stone house, called Airidh-mhor, which was said to have been the dwelling of a renowned Amazon or female warrior. The building was very similar in form to the Staller's house, but was not so large. It has now almost entirely disappeared.

Martin mentions two curious taxes which were levied in St. Kilda in his time. The first of these was called the pot-penny. Each family possessed an iron pot, and, when a party of the Islanders went away upon any expedition, they took with them one of these pots, the owner of which received a small tax from every family in the Island. The other tax was the fire-penny, which was levied by the possessor of the only flint and steel in St. Kilda, whenever any of his neighbours required the use of these articles. Martin, however, pointed out to the people that fire could be obtained from the rock-crystals upon the sea-shore, and from that time the tax was evaded, and fire obtained from these crystals by any man who required it, without his being obliged to go to the owner of the flint and steel for it.

The present inhabitants of St. Kilda are representatives of the Clans Macqueen, MacCrimmon, Macdonald, Mackinnon, Ferguson, and Gillies. Constant intermarriage has naturally led to a

deterioration of the race, and, though outwardly strong and healthy looking, the St. Kildeans are exceedingly liable to rheumatism. Their wants are few. They strongly feel the absence of any doctor, and of a schoolmaster who can teach English as well as Gaelic. Add to this a substantial pier, and a strong boat, and you have the sum total of the primitive St. Kildeans' wants and wishes. We hope that ere long these wishes may be gratified, and that, to quote the proprietor's own words, he will "treat exceptionally these lonely people, surrounded as they are by the melancholy main," and endeavour to alleviate the hardships of their position, by granting their modest and well-founded demands.

As an instance of the almost complete want of communication between St. Kilda and the outer world until very lately, it is related that for three years after the death of King William, the worthy pastor of St. Kilda continued to pray for him every Sunday, until he accidentally heard of the monarch's decease!

We must now bid farewell to St. Kilda, and, in doing so, trust that this little sketch of its people and their habits will awake in the reader's breast a new-born interest in that lonely storm-dashed Atlantic Isle, where the people form a little commonwealth of their own, undisturbed by the doings of the great outside world, while around them,

"— wind and wave and sea birds' cry,
With wassail sound in concert vie."

H. R. M.

THE late Rev. Dr. Macdonald of Ferrintosh visited St. Kilda in the year 1822. He went one day, when there, to see a well which had the reputation of possessing some remarkable virtue. The Rev. gentleman had for his guide a little boy, of the name of Donald Mackinnon, who afterwards left his lonely native island,

and for some time resided in the parish of which the "Apostle of the North" was pastor. But Donald ultimately settled in the Isle of Harris, where he resided in 1875. On nearing the well, the minister heard some peculiar sound, and, on asking his guide what it was, the latter replied, "It's the noise of the water of the 'Well of Virtue' gushing out of the rock." On reaching the well, the minister drank heartily of its cooling water. "And at length," says Mackinnon, "he asked me the name of the well; for he seemed to have forgotten it, and I told him that it was called the 'Well of Virtue.' He then took a book out of his pocket, and began to write something in it. I did not know then what he was doing, for I knew nothing of writing, as I had never seen any; and, thinking that the holy man was going to do me some bodily harm, I ran home to my father's house in great terror, and hid myself under a bed. But the blessed man's thoughts were at that time taken up with quite a different theme—he was composing a song, and a very long one it was. The following verses are all I remember of it. As to how long I remained under my father's bed I cannot tell, but one thing I do remember, namely, that it was with great coaxing the minister and my father induced me to leave my hiding-place." The song was composed to the well-known Gaelic air, "Mairi Bhan Og," and called "Tobair nam Buadh." The above, as well as the three stanzas of the song referred to, I took down from Mackinnon's mouth some twenty years ago, and I now send the whole as a contribution to H. R. M. to complete his notes on St. Kilda.

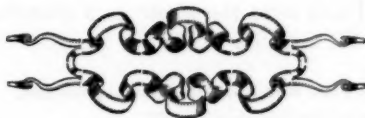
'S tu Tobair nam Buadh tha shuas 's ghleannan,
 'S neo thruaillidh fallain do stor;
 Chuala mi d'fhuaim mas d'fhuair mi faisg ort,
 'S gur fuaran gasd' thu tha beo.
 Sruthadh bho chearnaidh ard tha creagach,
 Do lan co-fhreagar gach uair;
 'S mar rinneadh le cach, le'm laimh bheir mis ort
 Mar ainm "Sàr uisge uam Buadh."
 'S tu 'n tobar tha fìorghlan, aotram, soillear,
 Gun aon ni foilleil fo d' ghruaidh,
 Tha sìr shruthadh sìos gu fial o chruinnich
 Am fearrann air thus o'n chuan,
 Gun rodadh, gun traoghadh, a ghna ro mhillis,
 A ghna cuir thairis gach uair;

'S mur tig ort crith-thalmhain 'sgealbas creagan,
Cha 'n fhalbh thu 'm feasd gu la luain.

Ged tha thu 'n gleann fàsail, cail-eigin folaicht',
A'n ait nach fuirich mor shluagh,
Cha tig iad na'd choir le onfhais mara,
Mor stoirm is feallsanachd cuain.
Tha spreidh agus daoine daonan faisg ort,
Is oigridh thaitnich gun ghruaim,
Is gheabhatar an taobhs iad daonan 's treisead—
Sid chum na Hiortaich cho buan.

* * * * *

I am sorry that I did not succeed in recovering more of this beautiful song. It is very probable that the Doctor himself did not keep a copy of it, otherwise it would have appeared in Dr. Kennedy's "Apostle of the North." MAC IAIN.



THE HISTORY OF THE MACLEODS.

[BY THE EDITOR.]

(Continued.)

IX. WILLIAM MACLEOD of Harris and Dunvegan, succeeded Alexander. We have already seen that, in 1541, on the resignation of his father, certain lands were granted to William as heir-apparent upon the occasion of his marriage with Agnes Fraser, daughter of Hugh Fraser, fourth Lord of Lovat. He was served heir in special to his father; and, in virtue of a precept from chancery, he was, on the 15th of May, 1548, infest in the whole of the family estates, except Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist, in which latter he had been infested during the life of his father. The ancient hereditary estates of the family, namely, Harris, Dunvegan, Minginish, Bracadale, Duirinish, Lyndale, and Glenelg, had descended to William under a destination to the heirs whomsoever, of his father, making this extensive property a *female* fief, while at the same time he was a vassal of the Crown, under a different destination, in the lands of Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist, which made these a *male* fief. At this time, Troternish, the ownership of which was constantly in dispute, frequently changed masters, and though the legal rights to Sleat and North Uist were then undoubtedly vested in William Macleod, these lands were occupied by the Macdonalds. When William Macleod died in 1552-3 without male issue, the two properties vested in him by different destinations were separated; that which was a female fief going to his only child, Mary, then an infant; the lands of Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist, being a male fief, going to his brother and heir male, Donald, second son of Alastair *Crottach*, who at the same time seized the other portions of the family estates to the prejudice of his niece,

MARY MACLEOD, whose history in this connection must now be noticed at considerable length. In 1552-3, James, Earl of

Arran, Regent of Scotland, made a gift to George, Earl of Huntly, of the ward, non-entry, relief, and marriage of this wealthy heiress, in terms of the following document. We have modernised the orthography:—

"A letter made to George, Earl of Huntly, Lord Gordon and Badenoch, etc., Chancellor to our Sovereign Lady, his heirs, and assigns, one or more, the gift of the ward and non-entries, maills, farms, profits, and duties of all and sundry the lands under-written. That is to say, the lands of Harris, Dunvegan, Troternish; the lands of Sleat and North Uist; the lands of Duirinish, the lands of Bracadale, the lands of Minginish, the lands of Glenelg, and all other lands and annual rents which pertained to umquhile William Macleod of Dunvegan, with the castles, towers, fortalices, mills, multures, woods, fishings, "*annexis connexis*," both property and tenantry, with tenants, tenantries, service of free-tenants, advocacy, donation, and gift of patronage of the kirks, benefices, and chaplainaries of all and sundry the fore-named lands and their pertinents, if any be, of all years and terms bygone, and that the same has been in our Sovereign Lady's hands or her predecessors thereof by reason of non-entries or ward since the decease of the said umquhile William, or any others his predecessor's last lawful possessors thereof, immediate tenants to our Sovereign Lady, or her predecessors of the same, and such-like of all years and terms to come; aye and while the lawful entry of the righteous heir or heirs thereto, being of lawful age, with the relief thereof, when it shall happen, together with the marriage of [Mary] Macleod [daughter] and heir of the said umquhile William, and failing of [her], by decease, unmarried, the marriage of any other heir or heirs, male or female, that shall happen to succeed to the said umquhile William, or to any others his predecessors in the lands and heritage foresaid, with all profits of the said marriage, with power, etc. At Edinburgh, the 11th day of February the year of God 1552 years.—*Per signaturam.*"*

The Queen Regent, among the other punishments inflicted by her on the Earl of Huntly for his negligence in the pursuit of John Moydertach of Clanranald, after the battle of Blar-nan-leine, compelled him to relinquish this grant of the wardship and marriage of Mary Macleod; but Huntly attempted, while in disfavour in 1555, to dispose of the grant to the Earl of Argyll, who agreed to pay him twelve hundred merks, five hundred of which were to be paid at

* Register of the Privy Seal, vol. 25, fol. 27.

the following Michaelmas, within Saint Anthony's Aisle, in the Kirk of St. Giles, Edinburgh, and the remainder was to be paid on Saint Andrew's day, good security being in the meantime provided for the full implement of the bargain. The document was witnessed by Gilbert, Earl of Cassillis; John, Earl of Sutherland, and several others, and subscribed by the Earls of Argyll and Huntly.* This transaction was, however, never carried out, for the Queen Regent, disapproving of Argyll's support of the Protestants at the time, compelled Huntly to divest himself of his interest in the heiress by a special deed of assignation to the Queen Regent herself. She afterwards bestowed the prize upon James Macdonald of Isla, who, though married to Agnes Campbell, the Earl's sister, took part against Argyll, in order to secure possession of the wealthy heiress of Dunvegan. The document is dated the 27th day of June, 1559, and declares that the assignation is made to James Macdonald of Dunyveg and the Glens, his heirs and assigns, "and that for certane greit soumes of money" paid and delivered by him.

William Macleod, who, as we have seen, died without male issue, was succeeded, as chief of the clan, and nominal proprietor of the lands of Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist, by his next brother,

X. DONALD MACLEOD, and he seized, apparently with the full consent of the clan, the lands of Dunvegan, Glenelg, and the others which then legally belonged to his niece, Mary Macleod. He was not, however, permitted to remain long in possession, for he was soon after assassinated by John Og Macleod of Minginish, at Kingsburgh, in Troternish. His murderer, John Og Macleod, who, failing Donald's only remaining brother, Tormod, would have become himself heir to the chiefship and the family estates legally vested in his brother, Donald. To succeed to this position was undoubtedly the object of the young assassin; for at the same time that he murdered Donald, he was doing all he could to get at his brother, Tormod, then attending the Glasgow University, with the object of assassinating him also, and clearing

* *General Register of Deeds*, vol. i., p. 230. Recorded on the 18th of November, 1555.

the way for his own succession. It, however, appears that John Og was able to keep possession of the estates of the heiress and of Dunvegan Castle until his death in 1599. On the death of Donald,

XI. TORMOD MACLEOD succeeded him in all his legal rights, and, as head of the clan. Gregory so well describes the relationships of parties at this period that we cannot do better than quote him at length, afterwards giving the documents on which he founds, but does not print. He says—In this reign (Queen Mary's), the Earl of Argyll contrived to extend his influence to the North Isles, and over two of the most powerful tribes in that quarter, the Clan-Donald of Skye and North Uist, and the Clan-Leod of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg. The mode in which this object was attained is so characteristic of the policy of the house of Argyll that it seems to merit some detail in reference to the rapid increase of the power of that noble family.

William Macleod of Harris, chief of the "Siol Tormoid," was the undisputed proprietor of the estates of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg, under a particular destination, which, on his death in 1553, caused these extensive possessions to descend to his daughter and heiress, Mary. He was, at the same time, nominal proprietor of Sleat, Troternish, and North Uist, the possession of which, we have seen, the Siol Tormoid had unsuccessfully disputed with the Clan-Donald. On the death of William Macleod, his claim to the last-mentioned was inherited by his brother and heir male, Donald. The Siol Tormoid was now placed in a position which, though quite intelligible on the principle of feudal law, was totally opposed to the Celtic customs that still prevailed, to a great extent, throughout the Highlands and Isles. A female and a minor was the legal proprietrix of the ancient possessions of the tribe, which, by her marriage, might be conveyed to another and a hostile family; while her uncle, the natural leader of the clan, according to ancient custom, was left without any means to keep up the dignity of a chief, or to support the clan against its enemies. His claims on the estates possessed by the Clan-Donald were worse than nugatory, as they threatened to involve him in a feud with that powerful and warlike tribe, in case he should take any steps to enforce them. In these circumstances, Donald Macleod seized, apparently with the consent of his clan, the

estates which legally belonged to his niece, the heiress; and thus, in practice, the feudal law was made to yield to ancient and inveterate custom. Donald did not enjoy these estates long, being murdered in Trouterness by a relation of his own, John Og Macleod, who, failing Tormod, the only remaining brother of Donald, would have become the heir male of the family. John Og next plotted the destruction of Tormod, who was at the time a student in the University of Glasgow; but in this he was foiled by the interposition of the Earl of Argyll. He contrived, notwithstanding, to retain possession of the estates of the heiress, and of the command of the clan, till his death in 1559. In the meantime, the feudal rights of the wardship, relief, and marriage of the heiress of Harris, were eagerly sought after by various powerful individuals. They were first bestowed, in 1553, by the Regent Arran, upon the Earl of Huntly, who afterwards proposed to sell his interest in the heiress and her property, to the fourth Earl of Argyll, for a large sum of money. But Huntly, having fallen into disgrace with the Queen Regent, as formerly mentioned, was compelled to relinquish his bargain with Argyll, and to resign into her hands the claims he had acquired from Arran to the guardianship of Mary Macleod. The Regent, while endeavouring in 1559, to secure the assistance of James Macdonald of Isla against the Protestants, of whom the fifth Earl of Argyll was one of the principal leaders, committed the feudal guardianship of the young heiress to that chief. In 1562, we find that the person of the young lady had, by some accident, come into the custody of Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, who, having refused to give her up to her lawful guardian, James Macdonald, was at length compelled to deliver her to Queen Mary, with whom she remained for some years as a maid of honour, being no doubt one of the Queen's celebrated *Maries*. Macdonald seems now to have made over his claims to Argyll, who finally exercised the right of guardianship, by giving Mary Macleod in marriage to his kinsman, Duncan Campbell, younger of Auchinbreck. But previous to the marriage, the Earl, sensible of the difficulty which would attend any attempt to put an individual of his clan in possession of the territories of the Siol Tormoid, even although he had the law in his favour, entered into the following arrangements, the most judicious that

could be devised for making the most of his position at the time. His first agreement was with Tormod Macleod, who had been for some years in actual possession of Harris and the other estates of the Lewis, and had already given to the Earl (for the good offices of the latter) his bond of service for himself and his clan. It was arranged that Macleod should renounce, in favour of Argyll, all claim he had to the lands of the Clan-Donald; that he should likewise pay the sum of one thousand merks towards the dowry of his niece. Argyll, on the other hand, engaged to procure from Mary Macleod, and any husband she might marry, a complete surrender of her title to the lands of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg; and to obtain for Tormod a crown charter of that estate. His next agreement was with Donald Gorm Macdonald of Sleat; and in consideration of that chief paying five hundred merks towards the dowry of Mary Macleod, and of his likewise giving his bond of service for himself and his clan to Argyll, the latter engaged to make him his vassal in the lands of Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist, to which the Macdonalds had at present no legal claim. Argyll's agreement with Tormod Macleod was actually carried into effect; but circumstances seem to have interfered with the final completion of his contract with Macdonald. It is evident, however, that, although in the case of the Siol Tormoid, at this time, ancient custom prevented the feudal law of succession from being carried into effect in its full extent, yet the Earl of Argyll did not surrender his legal claims without indemnifying himself amply for the sacrifice.*

The following is the contract, modernised in orthography, entered into between the Earl of Argyll and Norman Macleod, with consent of his guardian, Hector Maclean of Duart, in 1559-60 and referred to by Gregory:—

"At Dunoon, the first day of March, the year of God 1559 years: It is accorded, agreed, and finally accorded, betwixt a noble and potent Lord Archibald, Earl of Argyll, on the one part, and Tormod Macleod, son to [umquhile] Alexander Macleod of the Harris, as principal in this contract, and Hector Maclean of Duart as principal favourer and tutor to the said Tormod, on the other part, in manner, form, and effect, as after follows: That is to say,

* *Western Highlands and Isles*, pp. 203-207

forasmuch as the said Earl has redeemed and obtained the said Tormod out of the captivity and enemies' hands, wherein he was with the Frenchmen; yet the said Earl obliges him to fortify, help, and set forward the said Tormod to win and enjoy the heritage and rooms that pertained to his father and brother of Harris, with the pertinents Tewedes [?] and Glenelg, and all other bounds whereof they have old title of heritage in special, and shall be a good lord and master to the said Tormod in all his actions and just causes; and to the effect that the same may come the better forward, has delivered the said Tormod to the said Hector to be helped and fortified; for the which cause the said Tormod, by these presents, gives and grants his bond of manrent, his faithful and true service, with all his kin and friends, and his heirs and successors of the Harris, to the said Earl, his heirs and successors, of Argyll, perpetually; also shall not marry but with the advice of the said Earl, whose counsel he shall take in marrying a wife; and being established in his rooms of the Harris and Tewedess, shall pay the value or estimation of the avail of the ward and marriage of the Harris and the labours and travels of the said Earl to him and to the said Hector, to be divided as the said Earl thinks cause betwixt him and the said Hector Maclean; and in case the said Tormod fail in any part of the premisses, he is content to be counted unworthy to enjoy the room of a gentleman for ever in Scotland, but to be perpetually defamed; and also the said Hector to be perpetual enemy to him, dissolving the bond of kindness that is betwixt their houses, in all times to come; and also the said Tormod not to pass to the North Isles, but with the advice and licence of the said Earl at his passage there; and in case his friends come to him, that they ratify and approve this bond, before his departing to the North."

The reference to Tormod being captive with Frenchmen, is explained by the probability of his having been captured by some of the French Auxiliaries, who, during the Regency of Queen Mary of Guise, were employed in maintaining the internal peace of Scotland.

At Edinburgh, on the 21st May, 1562, in presence of the Queen and Lord of the Privy Council, appeared Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, "who being commanded by letters and also by writings direct from the Queen's Grace, to exhibit, produce, and present before Her Highness, Mary Macleod, daughter and heir of umquhile William Macleod of Harris, conform to the letters and charges direct thereupon; and declared that James Macdonald

had an action depending before the Lords of Session against him for deliverance of the said Mary to him, and that therefore he could not goodly deliver her; notwithstanding the which, the Queen's Majesty ordained the said Kenneth to deliver the said Mary to Her Highness, and granted that he should incur no skaith therethrough at the hands of the said James, or any others, notwithstanding any title or action they had against him therefor. And the said Kenneth, knowing his dutiful obedience to the Queen's Majesty, and that the Queen had ordained him to deliver the said Mary to Her Highness in manner foresaid, he on no wise could disobey; and therefore delivered the said Mary to the Queen's Majesty, conform to her ordinance foresaid." For some years after this, Mary Macleod was a member of the Queen's household, as appears conclusively from several entries in the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland in 1562 and again in 1564-5.

The following contract, between Argyll and Tormod Macleod, appears to be supplementary to that dated 1559-60, and already quoted:—

"At Edinburgh, the twenty-fourth day of February, the year of God, 1566, it is appointed, agreed, and finally ended, betwixt one right noble and mighty Lord Archibald, Earl of Argyll, for himself and having the right of the ward and relief of all lands which pertained to umquhile William Macleod of Dunvegan with the marriage of Mary Macleod, only daughter and apparent heir to the said umquhile William, and also accepting the burden upon him for her on that one part: And Tormod Macleod, brother and heir male and of tailzie to the said umquhile William, and also heir male to umquhile Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan, his father, of the lands of Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist, on the other part in manner following: That is to say: Forasmuch as the said noble Lord, having the right to the gift of the ward, relief, and marriage foresaid, shall do his diligence to obtain the said Mary Macleod to be heritably infeft as heir to the said umquhile William, her father, and failing thereof as heir to the said umquhile Alexander, his goodsir, of all lands untaillied contained in the charter made to the said umquhile Alexander by our Sovereign Lord that last deceased, viz:—the Lands of Glenelg, Minginish, Bracadale, Lyndale, Duirinish, Harris, and Hirta [St. Kilda], if the old charter and seisins may be had, and failing thereof shall do diligence to get to the said Mary, of our said Sovereign and her successors, a new

infestment, with charter and precept of seisin, with supplying of all faults, of lands untailzied specified in the charter granted by our said Sovereign's umquhile father to the said umquhile Alexander of before, and the said Mary being heritably infest therein [he] shall cause her, with consent of her curators or spouse, if she any shall happen to have for the time, infest again in the most sure manner, the said Tormod and his heirs heritable in the said whole untailzied lands to be holden of our said sovereign and her successors either by resignation or confirmation, as he shall think most expedient, and please to devise, after the form of her said infestment; and also the said noble Lord, as having the right to the ward, relief, and marriage foresaid, shall provide the said Mary Macleod of a husband and party agreeable to her estate; and so being married, [he] shall cause her, with consent and assent of her said future spouse, ratify and approve the said infestment to be given to the said Tormod of the said untailzied lands; and also the said Earl shall at the time of the said ratification discharge the said Tormod and his heirs of all maills, fermes, profits, and duties of the said untailzied lands of all years and terms byegone intromitted with by him during the time of the said ward; which infestment being past and ended upon the said Earl's expenses, in manner foresaid, the said Tormod shall incontinent thereafter make himself to be heritably infest in all lands and annual rents contained in the charter tailzie of his said umquhile father as heir of tailzie to him; and immediately thereafter shall infest the said noble Lord and his heirs therein heritably to be holden of our said Sovereign and her successors either by resignation or confirmation at the option of the said Earl as freely as the said umquhile Alexander, his father, held the same of before; the said Earl obtaining our sovereign or her successor's consent thereto; and also the said Tormod shall content, pay, and deliver to the said Mary and her said spouse future, the sum of one thousand pounds money in contentation of his part of the tocher; and, further, the said Tormod shall renounce all right, kindness, title, interest and possession, together with the by-run profits, maills and duties which he had, has, or may claim to the said tailzied lands or bailliary thereof, for him, his heirs, and successors forever, and shall pretend no right thereto in times coming for any cause by-gone; and also the said Tormod, being infest as said is, shall deliver to the said noble Lord all old evidents which he has or may have of any of the lands tailzied above written made to any of his predecessors of before." [Then follows the usual clause agreeing to the registration of the deed, etc.]

By a contract dated the third day of March, 1566-7, Archi-

bald, fifth Earl of Argyll, undertakes to obtain for Donald Macdonald of Sleat heritable infeftment in the lands of Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist, to be held of himself on payment by Macdonald to him of one thousand merks Scots, and five hundred merks towards the dowry of Mary Macleod. Macdonald was also to give his bond of manrent to Argyll "in the best and straitest form that the said Earl will devise," and he was "to fortify and assist" Tormod Macleod "in his causes and defenses lawful and honest in time coming when he shall be required thereto by the said noble Earl." It would appear from this that the Macdonalds of Sleat were afterwards left in undisputed possession of the lands in question, otherwise this bond of friendship would have been an absurdity.

In 1572, James VI. granted Mary Macleod a charter, dated 15th of September in that year, of all the paternal estates of the family, including part of the lands and the bailliary of Troternish,* but the inclusion of the latter is supposed to be merely a clerical error.

In 1573, the heiress of Macleod married Duncan Campbell, younger of Auchinbreck, a kinsman of the Earl of Argyll, when it was proposed to convey all the lands described in the charter of the previous year to her uncle, Tormod Macleod, by a Charter of Sale, as appears from an unsigned and undated Charter of Sale preserved in the Dunvegan Charter Chest, and quoted in the "Transactions of the Iona Club." This mode was found beset with some legal difficulties, however, and Tormod was finally infeft and seised in all the lands named in the Royal Charter in 1572 in favour of his niece, upon a Charter of Resignation under the Great Seal, dated 4th of February, 1579-80, and proceeding upon the resignation of Mary Macleod, with consent of her husband, Duncan Campbell, heir-apparent of Auchinbreck, in favour of her uncle, Tormod Macleod, who was infeft in the whole family estates in July following.

(To be continued.)

* Register of the Great Seal, Book 33, No. 9. The Charter is also printed p. 150, *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*.

THE STATE OF THE HIGHLANDS A HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

III.

IN our last we parted with Mr. Knox on his arrival in Portree, the country around which, he tells us, though mountainous, is well inhabited, raises much grain, and many cattle. "Here the late Sir James Macdonald had marked out the lines of a town, and government, it is said, promised to assist him in the work with £500, but the death of that gentleman put an end to these promising appearances, and matters remain *in statu quo*." At the bottom of the bay he found "a church, an appearance of a village, some small craft, and many fishing-boats," and he was much impressed with the agreeable landscapes on both sides, and the excellent pasture in the vicinity of what we now know as the somewhat lively village of Portree, so called from the fact that James V. of Scotland, and several of his nobility, landed there while on a tour to the Hebrides in 1540.

Mr. Knox did not remain long in Portree, finding nothing to interest him, except Mr. William Macdonald, an experienced trader and well acquainted with fishing, who offered to accompany him to the Western portion of the Island. At the time, "the inhabitants of Skye were mostly engaged upon the roads in different parts of the Island, under the inspection of the gentlemen and tacksmen, and accompanied each party by the bagpiper. Many of these people had to travel eight miles from home, and the greatest part of them were at a loss for lodgings, excepting that which the cold earth and the open sky afforded. Yet, after all these labours and inconveniences, no effectual roads, and much less effectual bridges, can be made through these bogs and rocks." A road had just been begun from Portree westward, and he passed two or three hundred men at work. Having arrived near Skeabost, he turned westward across the hills in the direction of Bracadale, the Loch of which name, he informs us, was "edged with excellent cornfields, and well inhabited," and here was "a church, a school, a corn mill, and, what is very uncommon in the

Highlands, a surgeon." Compare this with its present condition! Here he found one of those circular buildings called Duns, the diameter of which to the outside was 60 feet, 42 within, and the height of what remained of it was 18 feet. Mr. Knox was introduced to Mr. Macleod of Ullinish, a gentleman, who, "from his great probity, and the respect in which he is held, has, in some cases, the duty of a sheriff imposed upon him by the inhabitants, to whom he is a father." Before proceeding further on his way to Dunvegan, Mr. Macleod strongly urged a short visit to the estate of Colonel Macleod of Tallisker, which stood on the coast, some miles eastward. They went by sea, and, before they could land at the bay of Tallisker, "Mr. Macleod, though extremely corpulent, had, with his usual politeness, reached the beach, from whence we were conducted, through a small but rich valley, to the seat of plenty, hospitality, and good-nature." The mountains in the neighbourhood abounded in "deer, hare, and wild fowl; the fields in grain, hay, and pasturage; the gardens in fruits and vegetables; the rivers in trout and salmon; the sea in herrings and white fish. Such, with the additional circumstance of a well-stocked cellar, are the felicities of this very remote and almost inaccessible corner. While these furnish many of the choicest luxuries of life, Tallisker and his lady enjoy the good will of the people around." Next morning Mr. Knox was accompanied by Mr. Macleod of Tallisker to Ullinish. They soon after arrived at Dunvegan Castle. Mr. Knox informs us that "this estate has been greatly diminished of late years, on account of debts; and much remains to be discharged. Notwithstanding this circumstance, the proprietor raised no rents, turned out no tenants, used no man with severity, and in all respects, and, under the most pressing exigencies, maintained the character of a liberal and humane friend of mankind." Having described the situation of the Castle, and related some interesting incidents connected with Dr. Johnson's visit while on his Hebridean tour, our author informs us that, at the date of his visit, Macleod of Macleod himself was in India, where he held the rank of Major-General in the army, but his return was sincerely wished for by all, from the highest to the lowest, on his estate. The Castle was inhabited at the time by "Major Alexander Macleod

and his lady, a daughter of the celebrated Flora Macdonald, who protected the young Pretender through all his hairbreadth escapes," after the battle of Culloden. In those days, the gentlemen of Skye did not appear to be over particular regarding the sacredness of the Sabbath day, for we are told that, being at Dunvegan Castle, "upon a Sunday, our company became, after church-time, very numerous, and was composed chiefly of gentlemen who had been in the army. My object was to push the subscription, which I endeavoured to represent as a very becoming supplement to the service of the day, in which the company readily acquiesced; among whom was the clergyman, who, though his income is only £40 per annum, bestowed his mite with great good will." It is interesting to find that the population of Skye was nearly as large then as it is in 1885. Mr. Knox says, "though several vessels have been loaded with emigrants from this Island since 1759, the number of inhabitants amounts at present to 15,000; some of the gentlemen of the Island affirm that there are 16,000 or upwards." Of these, he informs us, 7000 lived upon the Macdonald estates. He further says that the most fertile parts lay upon the coast, "but many thousand acres of good arable ground might be realised upon the declivities of the inland hills," by the use of lime, draining, enclosing, and other improvements. The average crops in the Island were 8000 bolls annually, while the exports of black cattle, "the largest and best in the Highlands," were 4000, realising from £2 to £3 each. He tells us that, among other valuable minerals, there were some appearances of coal in the neighbourhood of Portree, and in some other parts of the Island, "but the vein does not exceed four or five inches, and the quality is bad. No proper trials have, however, been made, by boring to the depth where good coal is usually found." At the time there was only one solitary shop in the whole Island, the honour of its possession falling to Portree.

Mr. Knox took passage in an open boat from Skye to Benbecula. On the voyage he experienced a severe storm, so that they were unable to cross, and had finally to make for Rodel, in Harris. He greatly admired the skill and bodily strength of the crew, and regretted, even in the deplorable situation in which he was placed, "the bad policy of obliging such men to abandon

their country, and to fly to distant regions, for a mere livelihood." The Island of Harris, with a number of small ones, including St. Kilda, was purchased eight years before our author's visit, from the Laird of Macleod, by his relative, Captain Macleod of the *Mansfield* East Indiaman. This gentleman was most enterprising. He constructed an excellent harbour at Rodel, and built a store-house for salt, casks, and meal, and a manufactory for spinning woollen and linen thread, and twine for herring-nets. He also introduced some East-country fishermen, with Orkney yawls, with the view of teaching the inhabitants to fish. He re-built Rodel Cathedral, erected a school and an inn in the district, and did a good deal of plantation, which vastly improved the appearance of the place. He also introduced the model of a press, corn, and fulling-mill. In 1786 he proposed to try fishing on the coast of Harris, near his own house, but was ridiculed by his tenants, who maintained that no fish could be got there, but the proprietor persisted in his experiment, and got, between the 10th of March and the 15th of April, no less than 4400 large cod and ling; between 400 and 500 skate; and immense quantities of dog-fish, large eels, and boat-loads of cuddies. After describing the manner in which Mr. Macleod behaved to the people of Harris, how he encouraged the fisheries, placing men in every loch, bay, or creek, and providing them with boats, allowing them cottages and potato-ground rent-free, furnishing them with all necessaries at cost price, and taking their fish in payment at the full market price, Mr. Knox says that his conduct "ought to be a model for some proprietors in the Highlands, who, blinded by the representations of factors, and misled by their influence, have never permitted their tenantry to raise their heads, and are continually crushing them by new impositions upon their industry and upon every appearance of improvement; by which they are stripped of the fruits of their labour, to which the improver, and not the master, has, in common justice, the best right. The consequence of this squeezing system has invariably proved a fictitious, instead of a real rent-roll well paid; and thus each party impoverishes and distresses the other." This is the old, but ever new, story.

A. M.

(*To be continued.*)

PUBLICATIONS.

REMINISCENCES OF THE LIFE AND LABOURS OF DUGALD
BUCHANAN, with his Spiritual Songs, and an English
Version of them. By the Rev. A. SINCLAIR, A.M.,
Kenmore. Edinburgh: Maclachlan & Stewart. 1885.

THE fact that this is the twenty-second edition of the Poems, and the second edition of Mr. Sinclair's admirable little work, amply testifies to the fact that the good old sappy Poet of Rannoch has lost none of his charm for the pious and cultured people of the Highlands. To speak of the Poems themselves in the face of the fact that we have already mentioned would be perfectly superfluous. Where is the Highland fireside at which the hallowed and spiritualising influence of Dugald Buchanan's poetry has not been felt? Nor is the appreciation of their high poetic aroma at all on the wane; indeed, the admiring sentiments excited by their pious teaching and melifluous melody, has only been intensified the more they are subjected to the severer criticism of our own times. That Mr. Sinclair has done his work in a thorough manner, and with a sympathetic spirit, is evident from every page of the work. The biographical reminiscences are carefully selected; the Gaelic version of the Poems is most correctly edited; and the English translation, though necessarily far behind the original in point of moving power and lofty expression, is at the same time a very faithful representation of the sentiments of the author. The printer has done his part with taste, and no less so has the binder. The book is outwardly neat and handy, inwardly tasteful and correct, and it therefore follows as a matter of course that the work is one which Highlanders ought to possess and prize. Not only as a moral teacher, but as a poet, we regard Buchanan as by far the best of the Gaelic bards of modern times.

THE SACRED SONGS OF THE GAEL: A Collection of Gaelic Hymns, with Translations. By L. MACBEAN. Part I. Price Sixpence. Music in both Notations. Edinburgh: Maclachlan & Stewart. Glasgow: Porteous Brothers.

IT often baffles outsiders to understand the deep-rooted objection entertained by the great majority of the Highland people to the use of hymns in public worship, while much talent and genius have been exercised in the production of spiritual songs by some of their most accredited religious teachers. The explanation lies in the distinction the average Highlander observes between the form proper of the services of the sanctuary and that of the religious exercises of every-day life, and not in an aversion to hymns. The Gaelic hymnists, who generally were the respected and accepted exponents of divine truth, were in sympathy with this distinction, and did not design their hymns for use in churches, nor was such necessary in order to give them an effective and permanent place in the hearts of the people. The Highlander is essentially possessed of a musical and poetic, as well as of a religious temperament, and he naturally cherishes a deep attachment to his native melodies and songs, whether secular or sacred. It may be true that one or two thin volumes of either kind of song, and the Gaelic Bible, form the sole library in many of the Island and Highland cottages; but then these books are better known and valued all the more that they are few in number, a fact not without its advantages. In compiling the "Sacred Songs of the Gael," Mr. MacBean has met this condition of things with a stimulus for the wider use of already well-known hymns, and has preserved melodies, all of considerable, and some of them of great, merit. The book, which is uniform with the "Songs of the Gael" and the "Celtic Lyre" series, is the first part of a selection from the works of the Rev. Peter Grant, Dugald Buchanan, the Rev. Dr. Macgregor, John Maclean, and Rob Donn. The verses are selected with care, and strung together so as to preserve a natural sequence and completeness in small compass; while the translations into English bring out the wonted

graces of Mr. MacBean's pen. Translations are generally of secondary importance, but to be readable they require aptitude and ability, and few who remember Mr. MacBean's translation of Dugald Buchanan's poems, will dispute his claim to both. The tunes, as a rule, are those to which the hymns were composed, or with which they have been long associated, and they are genuinely Highland. Where a selection had to be made, the choice, a very difficult matter, is good. The whole represents many phases of character and feeling. To a few, simple harmonies have been arranged by Mr. H. W. Murray, of the Andersonian College, Glasgow. The eye does not readily fall on errors in spelling, or on evidences of anything but the most careful editing. In a note the compiler says, "This is, so far as known, the first collection of Highland sacred melodies published, but the vein of such music has been found so rich and interesting, that if this publication is well received, a second part will shortly be added." Both on account of its being the first of its kind, and because of its merits otherwise, we extend to it more than a passing welcome, and hope the fulfilment of the condition laid down in the above note will encourage the speedy issue of a second part. The mutual dependence of words and music on each other has been so often illustrated that it is obvious, if our hymns are to be long preserved as a living, working power, they must be placed before the public, accompanied by music as in this book, and we have no doubt the labour so well expended here will receive appreciative recognition. The printer has left little to be desired, and though much pressure has been put on his space, the work is neatly and tastefully executed.



GAELIC ALMANACK FOR JANUARY, 1886.

I Mhios.] AN FHAOILTEACH, 1886.

MUTHADH AN T-SOLUIS.

● AN SOLUS UR—5 LA—7.44 M.

○ AN SOLUS LAN—20 LA—7.45 M.

D AN CIAD CHR.—13 LA—0.24 F.

C AN CR. MU DHEIR.—27 LA—1.31 M.

M. DL.			A'ghrian.		An Lan An Lte.		An Lan An Grianaig.	
			E. Eirigh L. Laidh.		MAD.	FRASG.	MAD.	FRASG.
			U. M.	U. M.	U. M.	U. M.	U. M.	U. M.
1	H	A' Bhliadhn' ùr.	8.47 E	11.14	11.48	9. 5	9.39	
2	S	Breith Rob Ruaidh, 1735.	3.48 L	0.19	0.20	10.10	10.11	
3	D	<i>Didonaich an dèigh na Bliadhn' ùire.</i>	8.47 E	0.46	1.11	10.37	11. 2	
4	L	Breith Ban-tighearn' Anna Halket, 1622.	3.50 L	1.34	1.57	11.25	11.48	
5	M	Breith Thòmais Phringle, 1789.	8.46 E	1.77	2.35	0. 8	0.26	
6	C	An t-Seann Nolluig.	3.52 L	2.54	3.10	0.45	1. 1	
7	D	[6] La nan Tri Righrean.	8.45 E	3.28	3.44	1.19	1.35	
8	H	Breith Phrionns Ailbeart Victor, 1864.	3.55 L	4. 1	4.17	1.52	2. 8	
9	S	An Fhéill Fhaolain.	8.44 E	4.35	4.51	2.26	2.42	
10	D	<i>I. Donaich an d. La nan Tri Righrean.</i>	3.58 L	5. 6	5.23	2.57	3.14	
11	L	Diluain an t-Sainnseil.	8.42 E	5.39	5.58	3.30	3.49	
12	M	Bàs Shir Iain Mac Mhuirich, 1829.	4. 2 L	6.16	6.37	4. 7	4.28	
13	C	Breith Shir Phàdruig Hume, <i>Ridir</i> , 1641.	8.40 E	6.58	7.22	4.49	5.13	
14	D	Bàs Dheòrsa Husband Bàird, OLL. D., * 1840.	4. 5 L	7.47	8.15	5.38	6. 6	
15	H	Bàs Eanraic Mhic-Coinnich, 1831.	8.38 E	8.46	9.19	6.37	7.10	
16	S	[17] Latha na h-Eaglaise-brice, 1746.	4. 9 L	9.59	10.37	7.50	8.28	
17	D	<i>II. Donaich an d. Lan nan Tri Righrean.</i>	8.36 E	11.13	11.48	9. 4	9.39	
18	L	Breith Iain Ghill' Iosa, OLL. Lagh., 1747.	4.13 L	0.19	0.21	10.10	10.12	
19	M	Bàs Thòmais Gillespie, 1774.	8.33 E	0.52	1.19	10.43	11.10	
20	C	Ciad Pharlamaid Shasunn, 1365.	4.17 L	1.46	2.11	11.37	0. 2	
21	D	Breith Dheòrsa Gillespie, 1613.	8.30 E	2.36	3. 2	0.27	0.53	
22	H	[23] Bàs Iarla Mhoiridh, 1570.	4.21 L	3.26	3.49	1.17	1.40	
23	S	Posadh Dhiùc Dhunéideann, 1874.	8.27 E	4.12	4.37	2. 3	2.28	
24	D	<i>III. Donaich an d. La nan Tri Righrean.</i>	4.25 L	5. 1	5.23	2.52	3.14	
25	L	Diluain an t-Sainnseil, S.C.	8.24 E	5.46	6. 8	3.37	3.59	
26	M	Bàs Cheannard Ghòrdan, 1885.	4.30 L	6.30	6.54	4.21	4.45	
27	C	An Fhéill Chomain.	8.20 E	7.18	7.44	5. 9	5.35	
28	D	Bàs Rìgh Deòrsa III., 1820.	4.34 L	8.11	8.41	6. 2	6.32	
29	H	Ciad Pharlamaid leasaichte, 1833.	8.16 E	9.15	9.51	7. 6	7.42	
30	S	Bàs Rìgh Tearlach I., 1649.	4.39 L	10.33	11.11	8.24	9. 2	
31	D	<i>IV. Donaich an d. Lan nan Tri Righrean.</i>	8.13 E	11.49	0.19	9.40	10.10	

* OLL. D. (Ollamh ri Diadhachd)—DD.